PANHALA

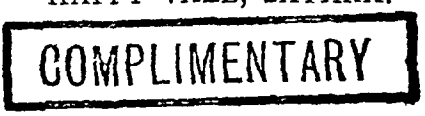
"Of all the hill forts I have seen in India. Panallaghur is the most complete both by nature and art."

—*Col. Welsh.*

BY

RAO BAHADUR D. B. PARASNIS,

HAPPY VALE, SATARA.



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H H RAJARAM CHHATRAPATI MAHARAJ,

MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR

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IN

Respectful Memory

of

H. H. the late Maharaja

SIR SHAHU CHHATRAPATI MAHARAJ,

G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., G. C. V. O., *etc.*,

MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR

PREFACE.

The ancient capitals and hill forts of Maharashtra are famous in Indian History, but authentic information about them being not available in the form of handy guide books or monographs, inquisitive visitors are greatly disappointed. At the suggestion of H. E. Lord Willingdon, the sympathetic and noble ex-Governor of Bombay, I published my notes on Mahableshwar and Pratapgad in 1916; and the keen interest in old historical ruins and antiquities of H. E. Sir George Lloyd, our distinguished and popular Governor, encouraged me to publish 'Poona in bygone days' in 1921; and now his visit to Kolhapur and Panhala has given me a fresh opportunity of bringing out a brief monograph on Panhala which, I hope, will be found interesting and useful.

I beg to offer my sincere and grateful thanks to H H. Shri Rajaram Chhatrapati Maharaj, the present Maharaja of Kolhapur, for the deep interest he has taken in this publication and for the kind patronage he has been pleased to give to it. I am also thankful to my old and esteemed friend, Rao Bahadur R. V. Sabnis, C. I. E., for the help he has rendered to me in this publication. I am greatly indebted to several eminent authorities such as Captain West, Major Graham, Prof. Sarkar and others for the information I derived from their rare and valuable works, and particularly to the Kolhapur Gazetteer. I am also grateful to Col. Welsh and Mr. Herald for their extremely rare sketches of Panhala which form the attractive feature of the book.

D. B. P.

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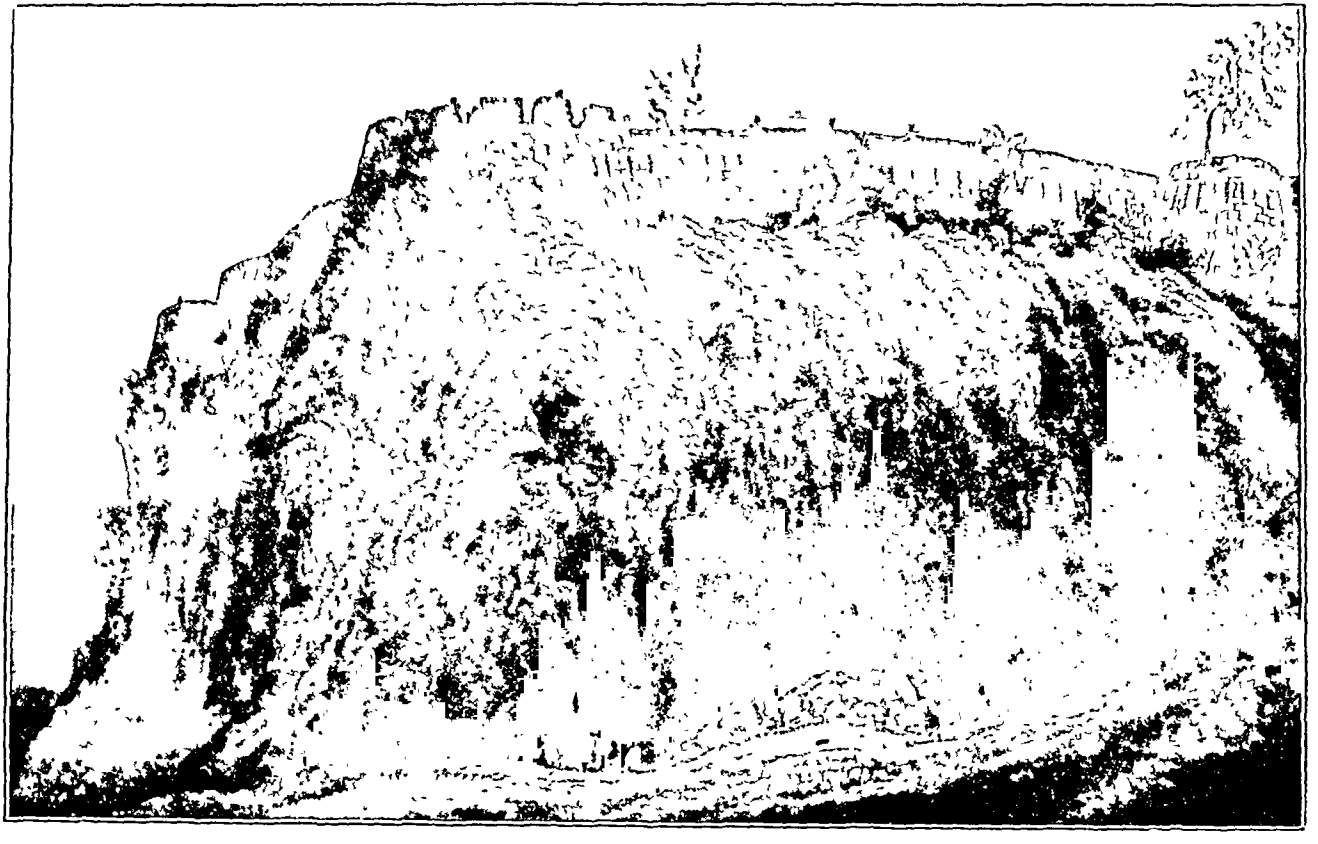
"Back march'd the host victorious,
Hanmunta at their head,
And to Panala's fortress
By Shiwaji were led;
There the strong walls were strengthen'd
And arm'd on every side,
And the raging hosts of Beejapore
Victoriously defied."

—ACWORTH: *Ballads of the Marathas.*



FORT OF PANHALA.

(From a sketch by Col. Welsh in A. D. 1827,)

PANHALA

CHAPTER I

Description

Panhalgad or the fort of Panhala, the famous historical fort in the Kolhapur State in Southern Maratha Country is situated at 16° 48' N and 74° 8' E, rising 2772 feet above sea-level. It is 12 miles to the north-west of the city of Kolhapur. There is an excellent road all the way right into the fort, the last 5 miles having a steep ascent. Panhala and its sister fort Pawangad are on the summits of a spur of the Sahyadri range known as Western Ghauts. The hill stands up boldly 700 feet above the Kolhapur plains, and its uppermost top crowned by the fort, rises 275 feet above the up-lands. The plateau is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, half the distance of which is protected by a natural sharp scarp 32 feet high, strengthened by loop-holed parapet walls, and the rest is fortified by strong stone walls 15 to 30 feet wide, with bastions and ramparts. This is reputed to be one of the strongest and impregnable hill-forts in India from military

point of view and great importance was attached to it by the Mahommedan and Maratha kings. The elaborate fortifications which it possesses at present were added to it at various periods. It has three magnificent double gate-ways which are reached from the table-land by long flights of stone steps. Of the three gateways, the two, *Wagh Darwaja* or 'Tiger gate' and *Char Darwaja* or 'Four-doored gate' have been destroyed, and only the third, *Tin Darwaja* is now entirely in tact. These three gates belong to the Bahmani dynasty of the 15th century, and the *Tin Darwaja* which is the only one in existence now, is regarded as a good specimen of its kind, with much tracery work on its jambs and architrave. With these massive gates and strong fortificatios, Panhala has played an important part in early Maratha History, and from its present worn-out condition, one thinks as if it is enjoying a well-earned rest like a brave and proud veteran, under the peaceful rule of the great Shivaji's descendants.

It is interesting to find the origin of the word *'Panhala'*. According to the *'Karvir Mahatmya,'* written about 200 years ago, to magnify the sanctity of Karvir

or Kolhapur, a famous sage, Parashar, had made his residece on this hill, — a rock-cut cave to the south of this fort is still shown as the abode of that great sage, who called this place *'Pannagalaya'* or the residence of serpents, and from *'Pannagalaya'* the word Panhala is derived. But according to the old inscriptions which are certainly more authentic than legendary accounts, 'Panhala' was known by the designation *'Pranalak'* or *'Padmanal'* from which the word 'Panhala' is probably derived. It is generally spelt as 'Panalla' by Grant Duff and 'Pernala' or 'Purnala' by other old geographers. Captain West and Major Graham who deserve great credit for collecting valuable historical information about this place, spell the word 'Panala' and 'Punala' respectively. Whatever may be the true meaning of this word, it no doubt suggests the idea, that there was plenty of water on the hill, which might have naturally collected into ponds and produced beautiful lotuses, and hence the name *'Padmalaya'* might have been given to the hill. This supposition is confirmed by numerous water-springs and tanks still existing on the hill. Colonel Welsh gives the meaning of the words 'Panhala' and 'Pawangad' as 'Watery Mountain' and

'Windy Mountain,' which supports the above theory.

Panhala was named 'Shah Nabi-durg' by the Mahommedan conquerers and was made a *Sarkar* or division by the Bijapur kings, which consisted of 9 *Mahals* or districts. Shivaji retained the Hindu name of Panhala, and for the convenience of administration, made it into a small *Subha* or district, containing only 10 *Tarfs* or talukas, which was subsequently included in Shivaji's *Swaraj*, that was regranted to his grandson, Raja Shahu, by the Moghul Emperor in 1719. The famous court poet of Shivaji, Bhushan, while singing the glorious exploits of the great Maratha hero, has mentioned the name of this historic fort as 'Parnala'. 'Parnalgad' or the hill-fort of Panhala, therefore, earned great fame in history and has been the scene of many romantic and heroic events.

The climate of Panhala is delightful and cool all the year round except the monsoon. Owing to its bracing climate and picturesque scenery, it has become the best hill-resort in the Kolhapur State. The Maharaja of Kolhapur and his Sardars and the European Officers generally make their summer residence at Panhala. The hill top being pleasantly broken and adorned

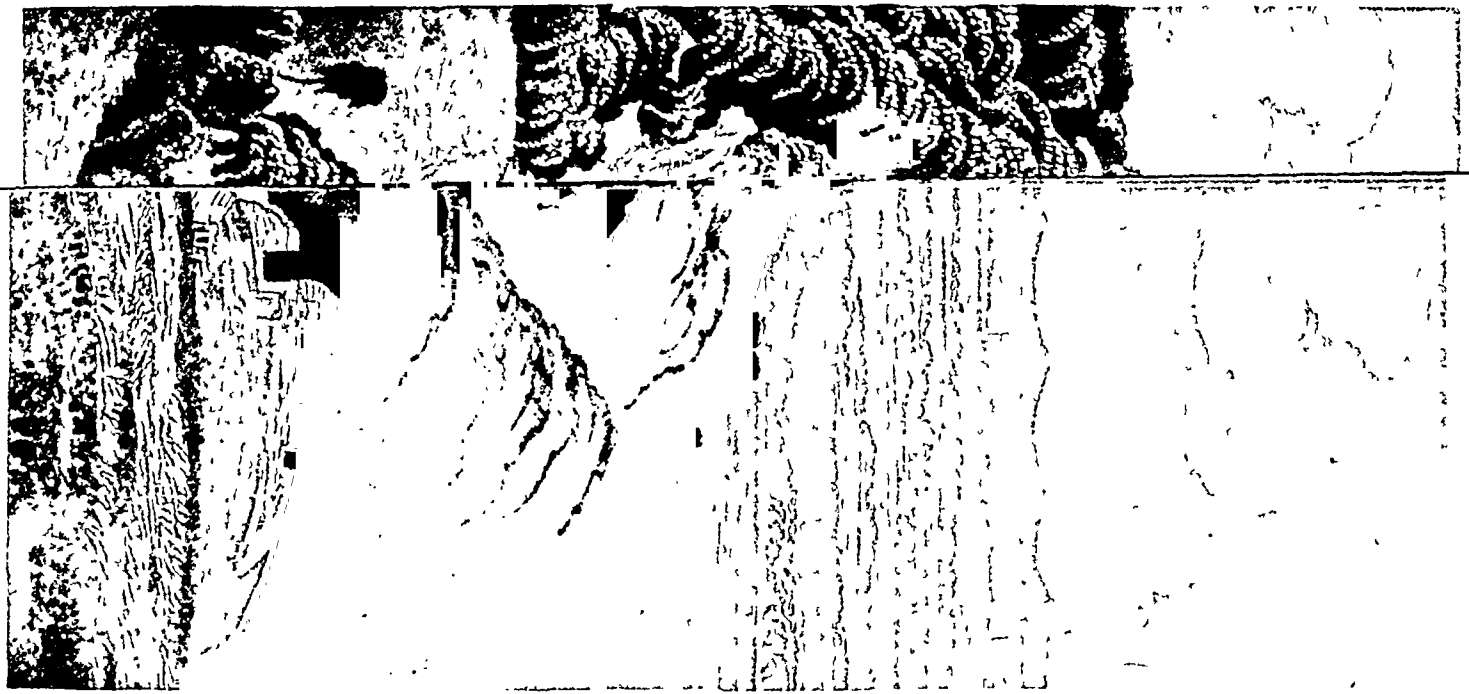
with cliffs, pools, springs, and shady paths. Panhala possesses all the advantages of a hill sanatorium. Owing to the abundant supply of pure iron water, cholera is unknown on this hill. Colonel Welsh, the Military Commander, who entered Panhala after putting down the revolt at Kolhapur in A. D. 1827 describes: "The climate here is delightful, the days cool, and the nights temperate, without those extremes to which we were exposed below, and such was the elasticity of the air that although an invalid of long standing, I could run about all day without inconvenience, climbing easily as descending the steepest places." He further adds: "The climate being delightfully temperate, we were enabled to go all over both hills (Panhala and Pawangad), explore every curiosity, and make sketches; and have seldom derived more gratification than in viewing such combination of the beauties of nature and art, as are displayed in these two fortresses. The persevering industry which could finish such massive fortifications, embracing the summit of a basaltic mountain, at least four miles in circumference, is really astonishing, and of all the hill forts I have seen in India, Punallaghur is the most complete, both by nature and art."

The hill-fort of Panhala and its surrounding country is inhabited chiefly by Marathas, the descendants of that fine martial race who supplied brave soldiers to Shivaji, the most respected and wonderful leader of their nation. It is said that human character is greatly influenced by physical surroundings, and that the qualities of resolution, daring, endurance, simplicity, self-respect, and patriotic spirit, are mostly developed amongst those people who reside in hills and mountains. In a speech before the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1882, Sir Richard Temple, one of the ablest and well-known Governors of Bombay, while paying his tribute to the sturdiness and martial spirit of the Marathas says: "They (the Marathas) were an aboriginal race, of very humble, I may say unpre-possessing, abject; rather short, clumsy, mean-looking little men: they were thoroughly despised by their Muhammedan conquerers who called them the mountain rats. But the hour came for them to rise, and with the hour came the man, and the leader. Owing to the extraordinary advantages offered them by the country in which they dwelt, they in a short time rose victoriously against their foreign rulers, the Mahammadans. They first dethroned the

Great Moghul in his imperial palace at Delhi; they fought the Afghan and Persian invaders of India; they worried the Portugues at Goa; they threatened even the early British Governors of Bombay: they were visited by European embassies in some of the hill-forts depicted in our illustrations; they obtained a dominion from Cape Comorin, near Ceylon, right up to the Himalayas. They truly boasted that their cavalry watered their horses in the river Kaveri, not far from Ceylon, and as far as the Indus opposite Peshawer. They fought the English in many stand-up fights. They even threatened us to such a degree that we had to build a ditch round Calcutta to defend ourselves from them. You have often heard of Calcutta, called the City of the Ditch: against whom was that ditch constructed? It was against the Mahrattas. Such, then, was the splendid imperial position obtained in the course of one century by this abject, despised race. And what was the cause of this astonishing success? It was, first the martial quality fostered by the mountains, and in the second place, the immense military and political advantages offered by the mountain fastnesses and strongholds." He further remarks: "We must remember that races

who once furnished the soldiers of Shivaji, and who used to be called tne Mawalis of the Deccan and Hetkaris of the Konkan, are now wearing the British Uniform and that the descendants of Shivaji's soldiers have carried the British Standard, not only in India and Afghanistan, but also in Persia, in Abysinia, in China, and in the Mediterranean"—and may we add South Africa, Turkey, Arabia, Palestine and France? The truth of these words has been vividly and conclusively proved to the world by the valuable services which the Marathas rendered to the British Empire during the Great War.

Panhala is at present the head quarters of the Panhala sub-division of the Kolhapur State and revenue and police officers are permanently stationed here for the management of the division. A bazar is weekly held here and provisions of every kind including fresh vegetables are available. There is also a vernacular school here which is attended by boys of all castes. According to the census of 1921 the population on the hill is 2166 souls.



CHAPTER II.

Panhala under Silahar and Yadav Kings.

The early history of Panhala is shrouded in obscurity. In the beginning of the Christian era, it appears that the country was under the rule of Shatkarni or Andhrabhritya kings of the north Deccan, one of whom was Vilivayakura, who is identified with Baleocuros mentioned by the Egyptian geographer Ptolemy (A. D. 150), and who governed the southern division of the Deccan. His capital is said to be 'Hippo kura', probably modern Kolhapur. The Buddhist caves of Pandava Dara, six miles west of Panhala, belong to this period. From A. D. 500 to A. D. 1050 the country appears to have been ruled over by different dynasties such as Kadambas, Rashtrakutas and Western Chalukyas, but the hill of Panhala sprang into prominence under the kings of Silahar dynasty, who ruled over this country from A. D. 1050 to A. D. 1120. From old copper-plates and inscriptions discovered at Kolhapur, Satara, Miraj, and in the surrounding country, it has been definitely established that the Silaharas of Kolhapur were the latest

or the third branch of the Silahar dynasty who held sway over a tract of country above the Ghauts, which included southern part of the Satara district, and the northern part of the Belgaum district, and mostly the present Kolhapur State. They claimed descent from Jimutwahan, the Rashtrakuta king of Tagara, and carried *Suvarna-Garuda-dhwaja*, or the banner of golden eagle, as their emblem. The first prince of this family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son, Nayimma or Nyayiwarma, and grandson, Chandraraja. Their family deity was Mahalaxmi, the famous goddess of Kolhapur. The son of Chandraraja was known by the name Jatiga II. He is described in a copper-plate grant as *'Pannal-durg-adri-sinha'* or 'Lion of the mountain of the hill of Pannal,' which certainly refers to the famous stronghold of Panhala, which afterwards became a place of great historical importance. After his death, Jatiga II was succeeded by the illustrious kings, Marasinha, Bhoja I, Ballala, Gandarditya and Vijayaditya, who styled themselves *'Mahamandaleshwaras'*, and governed the country with great tact and ability. Their seats or capitals were Karhatak and Walwada, *i. e.* modern Karad in the Satara district, and Walwa near Bhudargad in the Kolhapur State respectively.

The most renowned prince of the Silahar family was Raja Bhoja II who first styled himself as *'Mahamandaleshwar'* and also *'Vir-Bhoja'* and *'Vijayaditya-Deva-sinha'* 'the Lion of Vijayaditya Dev'. In 1187 he removed his capital from Walwa to Kolhapur, and in A. D. 1190 he is described as "reigning in happiness on the hill-fort of Pannal". He was undoubtedly a warlike prince and by his valour invaded and conquered a large territory. According to Dr. Fleet, in his earlier years Raja Bhoja II was, like his ancestors, only a feudatory chief, and used the simple title, *'Mahamandaleshwar;'* but afterwards he became independent and assumed for himself the paramount titles such as *'Rajadhiraj'* or 'king of kings' and *'Paschim-Chakravarti' i. e.* 'Emperor of the West.' He ruled over a considerable territory extending from the Mahadev range of hills, north of Satara, to the Hiranyakeshi river, south of Kolhapur, including all the southern tract of the Konkan as far as Sadashivgad or Karwar. In a copper-plate of the year A. D. 1192, found at Satara, he is described in glorious terms as follows :-

"Bhoja Deva, whose renown extends to the furthest boundary of every region, subdues his enemies by the turn of his eyebrow,

sustains the load of this world; the chief of Rajas, his splendour shines forth for ever.

"He is terrible in the field of battle: the sound of his war-drum is the destruction of (opposing) princes: he removes the three miseries which afflict mankind.*

"The beloved son of Ratna, like Indra, he imparts happiness to all his attendants: no portion of the earth remains unsubdued by him: may he be victorious!

"He is well versed in the five holy books (the four Vedas and the Bharata, which is reckoned as the fifth Veda). He is the lord of an extensive principality, and the chief of the nobles of the city of Tagara, born of the race of Silahara.

"He is the moon in the cool season, increasing the joy of the inhabitants of the world. He is the *Parijat* (desire-fulfilling tree), satisfying the desires of the learned.

"He is descended from Jimuta-Vahan: and is a fire consuming the forest-like Rajas, his foes. His standard bears the golden eagle: he is eager as a lion to destroy his intoxicated elephants or enemies.

"He is the terror of petty princes: and in destroying them is like Garuda among serpents. He is pure as the stream of the

* Natural diseases, evils inflicted by the gods, and those inflicted by men or other natural agents.

Ganges; he is a young Cupid, creating love in the hearts of beautiful damsels.

"He is the sole warrior, and extends protection to those who seek safety at his feet: he is the fire of destruction, drinking up the ocean of his enemies.

"He is delighted with harmonious numbers, and himself celebrates in verse the praises of Rama, whose name is continually contempleted by Siva: his unfading happiness consists in performing various duties.

"The goddess Mahalaxmi having conferred on him her benediction, he shines forth as the first of the race of Rajas. Such is Bhoja Deva, the lord of a great kingdom; who, amusing himself with pleasing tales, reigns in the fort of Padma-nala."

The king to whom these high encomiums refer, is the illustrious Raja Bhoja II, who established his capital at Padma-nala or Panhala, and built the following fifteen forts in the Deccan :—

1 Panhala.
2 Pawangad.
3 Bhudargad.
4 Bawda.
5 Khelna or Vishalgad.
6 Samangad.
7 Rangna.
8 Vasantgad.
9 Satara.
10 Chandan.
11 Wandan.
12 Nandgiri.
13 Kelanja.
14 Vairatgad.
15 Pandavgad.

He is known in history as Raja Bhoja of Panhala.* In an old inscription Raja Bhoja is justly termed "the surmounter of mountains and forts," and in another, "a thunder-bolt levelling the mountain-like race of terbulent Rajas who had subdued the forts". This supports the tradition that he was a great builder of forts. It is a remarkable coincidence that the Raja Bhoja II built the great fort of Padmanala or Panhala, and also that of Satara, simultaneously, both of them afterwards proved impregnable and became the scenes of great historical events in Maharashtra. Both the forts were conquered by Shivaji, the great founder of the Maratha Empire, and subsequently became the capitals of his illustrious descendants, Rajas of Satara and Kolhapur.

The Silahar dynasty lost its power with the reign of Raja Bhoja II. Side by side the unblemished successes of this prince brought another powerful and rival kingdom into existence. The great kings Bhillama and Jaitugi I of the Yadav dynasty established their sovereignty in another part of southern India.

* Major Graham has given in his Report the translation of a Persian inscription in the fort of Vishalgad in which it is said "A Maratha King, named Bhoj, possessed the fort."

Their successor, Singana, actually invaded Kolhapur in A. D. 1209 and conquered the Silahar territory, subduing Raja Bhoja II, the last and renowned representative of the Silahar dynasty. The references in the inscriptions to the downfall of this dynasty attach special importance to this achievement and shower praises upon the victorious Yadav king, Singana, for his brilliant success over the Silahars. In an inscription, found in the Dharwar district, Raja Singana is described as "*Pannala-nilaya-prabala Bhoja-bhupala-vyala-vidrawana-vihang-Raja.*" *i. e.* "the greatest king of birds (Garud) who put to flight the serpent, the mighty Raja Bhoja, whose residence was Pannala". The downfall of the Silahar power brought the fort of Panhala under the Yadav rule, and the conquered territory formed part of the Yadav kingdom of Devagiri. This happened about A. D. 1210.

Raja Singana, son and successor of Jaitrapal, who greatly increased the power and territory of the Yadav dynasty came to the throne in A. D. 1210. He carried on successful invasions in Malwa and Gujarat, conquered the lower Konkan and southern part of the Deccan, and thus raised the Yadav dynasty to great power and glory. While reducing the territory of Bhoja,

Raja of Panhala, he made his standing camp at Mhasurne, near Pusesawli, in the Satara district, which place is still pointed out there; but there is no evidence that he paid much attention to Panhala, the capital of his defeated enemy. There are certain places in the Deccan, such as Singnapur and Singandoha, named after him to perpetuate his memory; but there are no traces of his associations with Panhala except that he conquered the fort. According to Grant Duff, he died before he had firmly established himself, and the country of Panhala soon fell into the hands of Maratha *Palegars* or independent chiefs, who paid no revenue to any authority and enforced contributions from people, which evidently show that the Yadav kingdom gradually became powerless and could not hold control over the conquered territory. Raja Singana ruled from A. D. 1210 to A. D. 1247, and was succeeded by Krishna II, Mahadeva, and Ramdeva. During the reign of the last named king, an invasion from Delhi put an end to the rule of Devagiri, and established Mussulman power in the Deccan including Kolhapur and Panhala, known in history as the Bahmani kingdom.

Tank
Jhwinghur

CHAPTER III.

Panhala under Mahommedans.

After the overthrow of the Yadav dynasty by Malik Kafir in A. D. 1318, the forts of Panhala, Khelna (Vishalgad) and the territory surrounding them fell into the hands of Maratha *Palegars* or chiefs who became independent and withheld their tribute to the Bahmani kings, who appear to have held the Kolhapur country in their possession, only nominally, in the 14th century. An inscription recording the existence of a Mahommedan settlement called Nabipur on the hill of Panhala in A. D. 1376, shows that the Bahmani rule had extended up to Panhala in the reign of Mahomed Shah Bahmani I, and another inscription found at Miraj, of the year A. D. 1413 during the reign of Firoz Shah Bahmani (A. D. 1397-A. D. 1422), confirms the fact that Mahommedans had established themselves at Miraj and probably held the neighbouring districts which now belong to Kolhapur. The famous *Dargas* of Mir Saheb and Samsuddin Mir at Miraj were built about this period. But in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the Maratha

Palegars amongst whom Raja Shankar Rai of Khelna and Raja Shirke of Panhala were most powerful, aspired to be independent, and withholding their tribute, constantly preyed upon the cultivators and merchants who owed allegiance to the Bahmani rule. King Alla-uddin II had therefore to send an expedition against these chiefs under Malik-ul-Tujar in A. D. 1453; but owing to his ignorance of the country and its inaccessible thick forests, the Bahmani general got himself entangled in difficult paths, and was attacked and beaten to death with an army of 7,000 men. This event so horrified the Bahmani king that no expedition was again undertaken on Khelna and Panhala for a decade or two. In A. D. 1469, in the reign of Mahommed Shah Bahmani II (A. D. 1463 A. D. 1482), a powerful army was, however, despatched under his minister Mahmud Gawan to reduce Raja Shankar Rai and Raja Shirke. He took every precaution in this expedition, and having cleared the dense forests by fire and axe, laid a seige to the fort of Khelna. But, as it was strongly defended by the Maratha garrison, Mahmud Gawan did not succeed in capturing it, though he spent five months before the fort. At the approach of monsoon he ceased his operations and encamped near

Kolhapur with due military precautions. He again resumed his operations, and, according to a Mahommedan historian, he obtained "by stratagem and gifts of money, the possession of the fortress of Khelna which had never till then yielded to the Mussulmans." After this success Mahmud Gawan recovered Panhala from Raja Shirke whose family later on took shelter at Bahiravgad, a little north of Khelna or Vishalgad, which remained in their possession till A. D. 1768. In A. D. 1486, Kolhapur and Panhala were in the possession of Bahadur Gilani, a Bahmani officer of note, who rose to semi-independence, but was defeated by Mahmud Shah Bahmani II (A. D. 1482–1518) near Miraj and was killed in action. On his death his *jahagir* including Kolhapur was conferred upon Ain-ul-Mulk Gilani, another representative of his family, who made Panhala their residence.

At this period the country witnessed a great revolution in the Deccan. The Bahmani kingdom, weakened by internal dissensions was in 1489 divided into five independent monarchies,—Bijapur, Berar, Ahmednagar, Bedar, and Golkonda; and in this partition, Panhala and Kolhapur fell to the share of Bijapur or the Adilshahi

dynasty which held suzerainty over this country for over 150 years.

It is needless to mention that under the Bijapur government Panhala attained great eminence and became an important place of military defence. The two famous kings of Bijapur, Ibrahim Adilshah I and Ibrahim Adilshah II, shrewd as they were, bestowed considerable attention on this fortress and lavishly spent on its fortifications. The elaborate ramparts, massive bastions and the strong gateways that are still seen at Panhala belong to the Adilshahi period. According to tradition, the fortifications and the mosques, the *Edga,* the palaces, and other architectural buildings took a hundred years to build; but the inscriptions still extant in the old ruins at Panhala show that they were built by Ibrahim Adilshah II, whose reign was the longest and most prosperous of all the Adilshahi kings, having reached the zenith of the greatest territorial and political power. The greatest memorial of his reign is his own mausoleum at Bijapur, called Ibrahim Roza, which is one of the most beautiful and noble specimens of the Mahommedan architecture in India.

Under the Adilshahi rule of Bijapur, Panhala was not only strengthened by

strong fortifications but was raised to the position of a district in the revenue administration. From an old paper it appears that it was named Shah-Nabi-Durg and formed a '*Sarkar*' or district, and included the following *Mahals* or talukas:—

1 Haveli Panhala.
2 Azimtara or Satara.
3 Chandan.
4 Wandan.
5 Tathavda.
6 Wai.
7 Wasota.
8 Nussarat-abad or Parli.
9 Battis Shirale.

It is worth-noting that Kolhapur is not mentioned in this list, but was separately included in another '*Sarkar*,' known as Raibag, which consisted of the following *Mahals*:—

1 Haveli Raibag.
2 Kagal.
3 Kolhapur.
4 Warna.
5 Walwa.
6 Khatav.
7 Aundh.
8 Ite Bhalavani.
9 Wangi.
10 Karad.
11 Nimsod Mayani.
12 Phaltan.

These divisions were obviously made according to the convenience of military and revenue administration. It is however curious that the distant *Mahal* of Satara

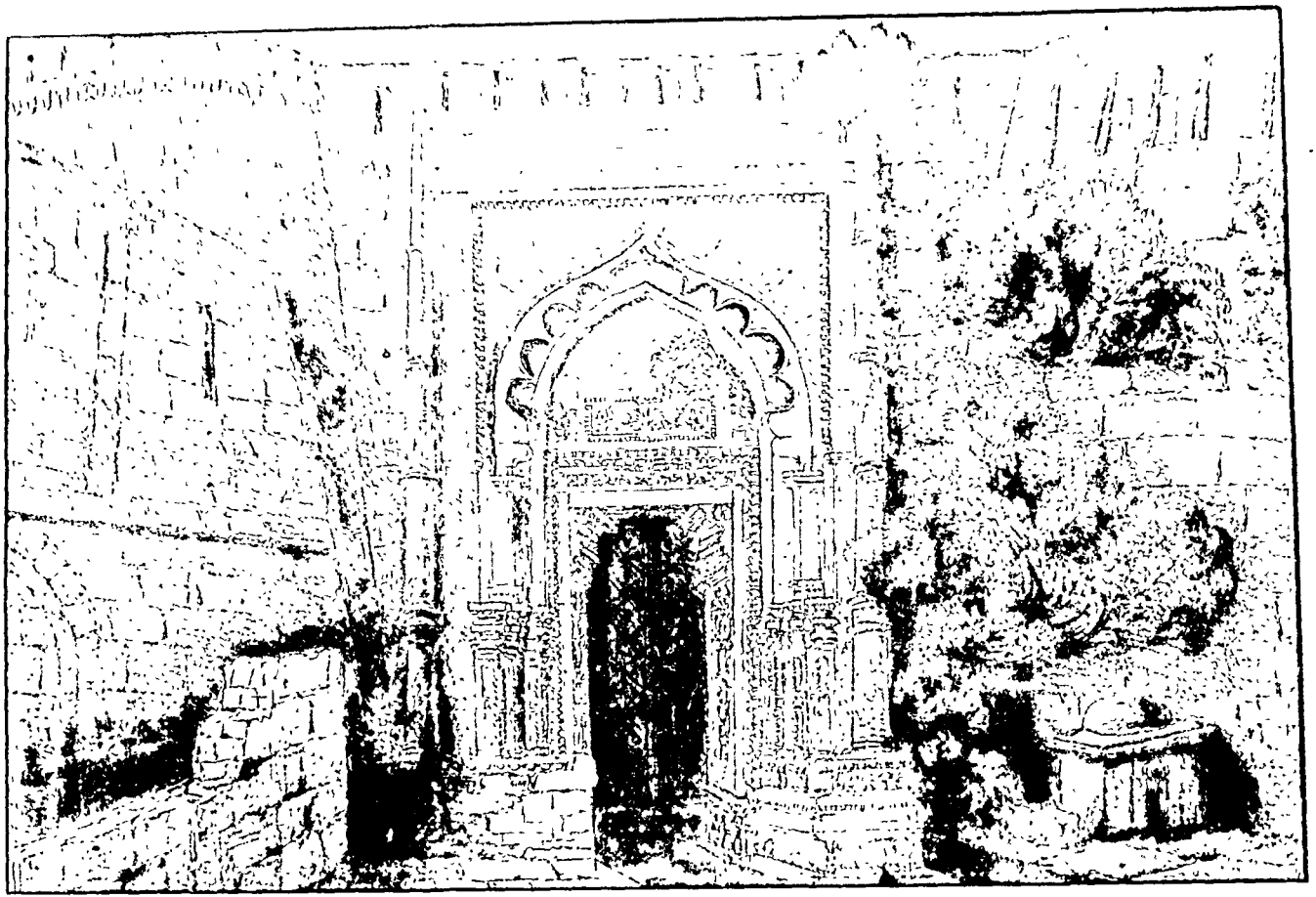
was included in the Panhala *Sarkar*, while Kolhapur, the nearest place, went to the Raybag *Sarkar*. This arrangement was afterwards changed in Shivaji's time.

No authentic information is available about the officers appointed by the Bijapur kings to guard the fort of Panhala and to administer the surrounding districts. According to Grant Duff, Panhala was one of those forts to which the king of Bijapur generally appointed a *killedar*. (commandant). From several old inscriptions at Panhala it appears that Malik Daud Aka and Maksud Aka were the famous officers of this fort who perpetuated their names by building fine gates and palaces. The fort was however situated within the *jahagir* of one of the generals of Bijapur, which comprehended Miraj and Kolhapur above the Ghauts, and Karwar and Bijapur in the Konkan.

Owing to the strong fortifications and natural strategic position, Panhala had long attained a peculiar importance by the middle of the 17th century, when the great king Shivaji commenced his activities in the Deccan to establish an independent Hindu kingdom. The story of the rise of Shivaji has been told by Grant Duff and later historians like Kincaid and others

and it is therefore unnecessary to refer to it here. "The history of his life," writes a well-informed writer in the *Bombay Miscellany* in A. D. 1860, "is a romance, which only waits a Walter Scott to make it vie in interest with those of Bruce or Douglas. Shivaji was a man of forts. Born in a fort, dying in a fort, he was mentally and physically, formed to make the most of them. Fancy a wiry little man, with an eagle eye, weighing only ten stone, but with disproportionately long arms; a climber by nature and full of lofty love of high places. The forts made him what he became, and he made the forts what they were: the terror of all India; the cradle of his nation; the basis of his conquests; the steps to his ambition; his home and his joy; many of them he built, all of them he strengthened." Shivaji was indeed a man of forts. His life-long opponent, the Emperor Aurangzeb, used to call him 'a mountain rat.' It was therefore natural that the strong position of Panhala should soon attract his keen eye, and that he should lose no time in capturing it after the victory over Afzulkhan's army at Pratapgad in A. D. 1659. Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas, is of opinion that the fort of Panhala was taken by Shivaji by bribing Rustum Zaman;

but Major Graham states that Shivaji got the place through a stratagem of his faithful adherents, who endured a public affront and personal chastisement as a plea for desertion, and then enlisting in the enemy's army opened the gates during the night. The conquest of Panhala enabled Shivaji to reduce the neighbouring forts built above and below the Sahyadri range, which easily surrendered to him without resistance. The forts of Rangna and Khelna were simultaneously taken by assault. On account of the wonderful drop of sheer 2000 feet of the latter, and its giant position, Shivaji named it 'Vishalgad', and it is now in the possession of the historic family of Pratinidhi—a feudatory State under Kolhapur. In this victorious campaign Annaji Datto greatly distinguished himself. By the acquisition of Panhala and Vishalgad, it may be said, that Shivaji got the keys of the Konkan and the Maratha rule was soon firmly established there. Later on repeated attempts were made by the Mahommedans to capture these forts, and though for a time they succeeded, yet no expeditons of the Bijapur army, nor of the Moghul Emperor, howsoever powerful, could drive off the Marathas altogether.



CHAR DARWAJA, PANHALA.

(From a sketch dedicated to General Delamotte in A. D. 1844—since blown up.)

CHAPTER IV.

Panhala under the Marathas.

It must have been an auspicious day when the stronghold of Panhala fell into the hands of Shivaji, for never since then has the Maratha banner ceased to wave over it. The Mahommedan rulers of Bijapur, and later on, the Emperor Aurangzeb, made great efforts to win it; and though for a while, the fort was tossed between the two belligerent parties, the wonderful courage and tenacity of the Marathas, again and again, rose to their highest pitch, and in the long struggle surpassed the gallant efforts of their brave opponents; and in the end Panhala was established, only more firmly and permanently, in the possession of the Marathas. It witnessed many historical sieges and battles, which are fully described by Grant Duff and other historians. It is sufficient for our purpose to give only a short summary of the important events that were enacted here during the period A. D. 1659 to A. D. 1702.

When the tidings of Shivaji's victory over Afzulkhan and the capture of

Panhala were received at Bijapur, the King issued orders to Rustum Zaman to proceed against Shivaji and protect the Kolhapur territory; but Shivaji, who was too quick for him, attacked and defeated him utterly. This created great alarm at Bijapur and a large army was sent under Sidi Johar to invest Panhala and recover the lost country. Shivaji considering Panhala to be a place of greater strength than it really was, decided to defend it in person. The Bijapur army arrived in the neighbourhood of Panhala and laid a siege to it for four months. Shivaji being shut up in the fort under the vigilant guard of the enemy, found himself placed in a serious situation. He was a man of daring and his boldness and resourcefulness were wonderful. He opened negotiations with Sidi Johar about surrendering Panhala, and under the pretex of submission managed to escape to Vishalgad before his plan was suspected. On this occasion, Shivaji to cover his retreat, stationed a party of Mawalis under that gallant soldier, Baji Prabhu, Deshpande of Hirdas Mawal, who was ask, ed to guard the pass, called 'Pandharpani', until a signal of five guns announced the arrival of Shivaji's main body at the fort.

The brave commander carried out his master's orders faithfully and loyally, and while repulsing the attacks of the enemy was fatally wounded. Most of his men had already fallen, yet the brave and devoted soldier held out, anxiously awaiting the expected signal of his master's safe arrival at Vishalgad, as Shivaji's safety depended upon his keeping the enemy at bay as long as possible. Every moment was of supreme importance, and while Baji fought on with the last shred of strength left in him, the long awaited cannons boomed, and before the thundering of the last cannon had died, Baji's soul took its flight to the heaven having fulfilled his mission. The story of Shivaji's escape from Panhala and the gallant death of Baji Prabhu is so romantic and thrilling, that the Pandharpani Pass has rightly come to be known as the 'Thermopylae of the Deccan,' and the incident has been an ever inspiring theme to poets.

Ali Adilshah, king of Bijapur, furious at this clever escape of Shivaji, and suspecting Sidi Johar to have joined the enemy by receiving bribes, resolved to take the field in person, and marched with a large army towards Panhala. He first captured Miraj, and invested Panhala

and Pawangad, which surrendered on the 25th August 1660 to the great joy and satisfaction of the Bijapur king. The Bijapur poet, Miya Nassarat, sang the victory with great jubilation in the following Hindustani couplet—

"Aline palme Panala liya Salabatse"

"Ali conquered Panhala from Salbatkhan (Sidi Johar) in a second!"

After the surrender of Panhala to the Bijapur king in 1660, it remained in the possession of the Bijapur government for only 12 years. From an old *kaulnama* issued to Phirangoji Desai of the Panhala fort in 1662, it appears that Maharaj Chhatrasalji was the *killeder* or commandant of the fort, appointed by the Bijapur government, who assured protection to the ryats on condition that they submitted to the Bijapur army. It may be noted that, about this time (1662), a treaty of peace was concluded between Shivaji and the Bijapur king through the mediation of Shahaji, by which Shivaji's independence was acknowledged, and he was allowed to possess the conquered territory excluding Panhala.

In 1666 Shivaji again led an unsuccessful attack on Panhala, which made the Bijapur court strengthen the garrison

with additional forces. Later on, Sidi Masaud and Rundaula Khan, two generals under whom a large Bijapur army was stationed at Panhala, taking advantage of Shivaji's absence at Ahmednagar, made a vigorous effort to recover the lost territory of the Konkan, for which they had to suffer heavily at the hands of the Marathas. In the year 1672 Ali Adilshah, king of Bijapur, died leaving a minor son, Sikander Adilshah, to succeed him. The subsequent factions and discords in the Bijapur court gave Shivaji an opportunity to collect a large force at Vishalgad and recapture Panhala, which he did on the 5th March 1673. In the next year, 1674, Abdul Karim, the Bijapur general, again attempted to retake Panhala, but was compelled to return with disgrace to Bijapur by the gallantry of Hassaji Mohite and his two young lieutenants, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav, who greatly distinguished themselves on this occasion. Pratap-rao Gujar, the Maratha Commander-in-Chief, lost his life in this battle before Panhala, and it was the skill and daring of Hassaji Mohite that won the losing battle, in appreciation of which Shivaji gave him the title of *'Hambir-*

rao' and appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Cavalry. To the family of the departed hero, Prataprao, Shivaji assigned a handsome estate, and one of his daughters was selected to be the bride of his son Rajaram. All this he did for the sake of Panhala!

From 1673 till the death of Sambhaji in 1689, Panhala continued to be in the possession of the Marathas. Shivaji repaired its fortifications and built a palace for his royal residence. He made readjustment of the country and changed it into a small *Subha* or *Prant*, instead of the old *Sarkar* or division under the Bijapur kings. The *Subha* or *Prant* Panhala contained the following talukas under Shivaji:—

1	Kalambe.	6	Alte.
2	Kodoli.	7	Rukdi.
3	Satwe.	8	Walwa.
4	Bane.	9	Wadgaon.
5	Borgaon.	10	Ashta.

Shivaji got the lands surveyed and assessed by Annaji Datto, who did his best to make the people contented and happy under the Maratha rule. Shivaji did not find time to make a long stay at Panhala but in his long expeditions to the Karnatic and Southern India, he

made it his halting place; and it was not until 1678 that he had some leisure to pass a few days there. At this time, however, the peace of his mind was disturbed by the undesirable conduct of Sambhaji who turned out thoughtless and depraved in his morals. Shivaji had therefore to confine him in the fort of Panhala with his wife, Yesubai, and his bosom friend and favourite, the notorious Kavi Kalusha.

Sambhaji enraged at this treatment intrigued with Dilerkhan, the Moghul general, and secretly ran away from Panhala to join him. Aurangzeb was right glad to receive the happy news, as he was awaiting an opportunity for dividing the house of Shivaji. But he did not succeed in it, as Shivaji, wise and shrewd as he was, lost no time in winning over Dilerkhan and bringing Sambhaji to his senses. The latter returned to Panhala and begged his father's pardon. Shivaji received him cordially but again confined him in the fort of Panhala on the 2nd December 1679. He was under the strict supervision of Mhaloji Ghorpade, the worthy father of that renowned soldier Santaji, who was appointed by Shivaji a *sarnobat* or commandant of the Panhala fort. This faithful servant of Shivaji took kind care of

Sambhaji, helped him in securing the throne of Rayagad, and in the end shed his blood for his sake, when Sambhaji was arrested by Shaikh Nizam or Takarib Khan at Sangameshwar in 1689. His descendants are still enjoying the fief of Kapshi in the Kolhapur State.

It is interesting to note that when Sambhaji joined the Moghul camp, Shivaji through prudence and foresight tried to strenthen Panhala, and turned it into an impregnable refuge by collecting 30 pieces of artillery from the forts of Ankola, Karwar, Someshwar, and Phonda and carrying them into the fort by the strength of men and buffaloes. Besides these he purchased 40 guns from the French. They were in tact till the occupation of the fort by the British in 1827, and were afterwards destroyed. Their rusted pieces are some times discovered under the debris of old ruins at Panhala.

Sambhaji learned the tidings of Shivaji's death at Panhala through Hiroji Pharjand, the commandant of the fort, and proceeded to Rayagad with his help. During his reign Panhala was, for the most part, the residence and capital of his court; and many of the *sanads* or grants that were given by Sambhaji were issued from

Panhala. Prince Akbar who had come to Paligad to solicit aid from the Marathas, had sent his Vakils to the court of Sambhaji at Panhala, and received protection from him; but the party who was against Sambhaji failed to win over the Moghul Prince and lost the golden opportunity of paying Aurangzeb in his own coins. In fact, Panhala obtained great importance in the reign of Sambhaji, but after his arrest and death in the Moghul camp at Tulapur 1689, Panhala and Vishalgad became the chief objects of Aurangzeb's wrath and the Emperor left no stone unturned to take revenge upon them.

The important events that took place in Maharashtra after the death of Sambhaji form a remarkable episode in Maratha history, in which Panhala and Vishalgad played a most conspicuous part. Aurangzeb intent upon annexing the whole Maratha Empire, first captured Rayagad, the capital of Shivaji, and took away Sambhaji's infant son Shahu and his mother Yesubai as prisoners of war. At this critical time, the Maratha leaders formed a regency under Rajaram, Shivaji's second son, who was eminently fitted to be the *de facto* ruler of Maha-

rashtra. He and his faithful councillors conceived masterly plans and performed wonderful deeds to save the Maratha Empire from the clutches of the Moghul Emperor. After the capture of Rayagad, the Emperor directed his attention to Panhala and Vishalgad. Panhala fell in April 1690, and the Moghul army laid a siege to Vishalgad. Rajaram and his wise councillors, who had already foreseen this difficulty, removed the seat of the Maratha government to Jinji a strong fortress in the Karnatic, and entrusted the affairs of the Deccan to Ramchandra Pant, the ablest statesman, whose achievements at this critical period adorn the pages of Maratha history and are chiefly connected with Vishalgad and Panhala. The garrison of Vishalgad under the directions of Ramchandra Pant bravely held out and never surrendered to the enemy. Ramchandra Pant, with the assistance of Parashram Trimbak, the illustrious founder of the Pratinidhis of Vishalgad and Aundh, escaladed Panhala and retook it from the Moghuls in 1692. It regained its former position in no time and became the favourite seat of the royal household of the Maratha king. In 1699 when Rajaram died at Sinhagad, his wives

Tarabai and Rajasbai, with their two sons Shivaji and Sambhaji, were kept at Panhala for safety.

Great credit is due to Rajaram and his ministers and generals for saving the Maratha kingdom and recovering the lost territory from the Moghuls, but greater still was the obstinacy of his opponent Aurangzeb, who never ceased his fruitless endeavours to stifle the Maratha independence. His reign was prolonged beyond all expectations, and he vigorously continued his efforts to reduce and capture the important forts of the Marathas and also to create disunion amongst their leaders.* The death

* Aurangzeb attempted to create misunderstanding between the Maratha leaders and actually sent threatening letters to Parashram Trimbak Pratinidhi and Ramchandra Pant Amatya. Grant Duff had seen one of these letters with the Raja of Kolhapur a copy of which has now become available from other sources and its translation is published in the 'Modern Review' by Professor Sarkar. As the letter relates to Panhala, it will be found interesting. Aurangzeb writes to Parashram Trimbak:—

"Parashram Trimbak, commandant of the fort of Panhala, be hopeful and know that my army is now marching to conquer the forts in the possession of the miserable (Rajah) Ram, and to extirpate him. In a few days the Imperial camp will be pitched at Murtazabad (Merich) and, through God's power, all the forts and places belonging to that wretch will be conquered and annexed to the Imperial dominions. The luckless Raja Ram, like his brother now in hell (*i. e.* the deceased Sambhaji) will be captured by the holy warriors of Islam and quickly put to death.

"As the men of some (Maratha) forts are inclined to be on the Imperial side, if you, according to my former letter, be led by good fortune to yield the fort to my servants, you will, God

of Rajaram redoubled his energy and hope and he zealously tried to subdue the forts of Panhala, Vishalgad, Satara Sinhgad etc. He advanced with a large army in person to Panhala, and again besieged the fort. The siege lasted for four months and ended in its temporary surrender to the Emperor, in spite of the gallant defence of the Ghatge of Kagal. In this siege the Moghuls showed such resolution and courage, as they had never before done since the sieges of Bijapur and Golconda. Panhala remained with the Moghuls again for a few months only, and was finally escaladed and retaken by Ramchandra Pant Amatya to be the chief capital of his master, the young Shivaji. The valuable services rendered by Ramchandra Pant Amatya on this occasion, were amply rewarded by the Maratha king by conferring upon him the *Jahagir* of Bawda and the hereditary titles of '*Pant Amatya*' and '*Hukmatpanha*.' The name of Ramchandra Pant is imprinted in letters of gold in the history of Panhala.

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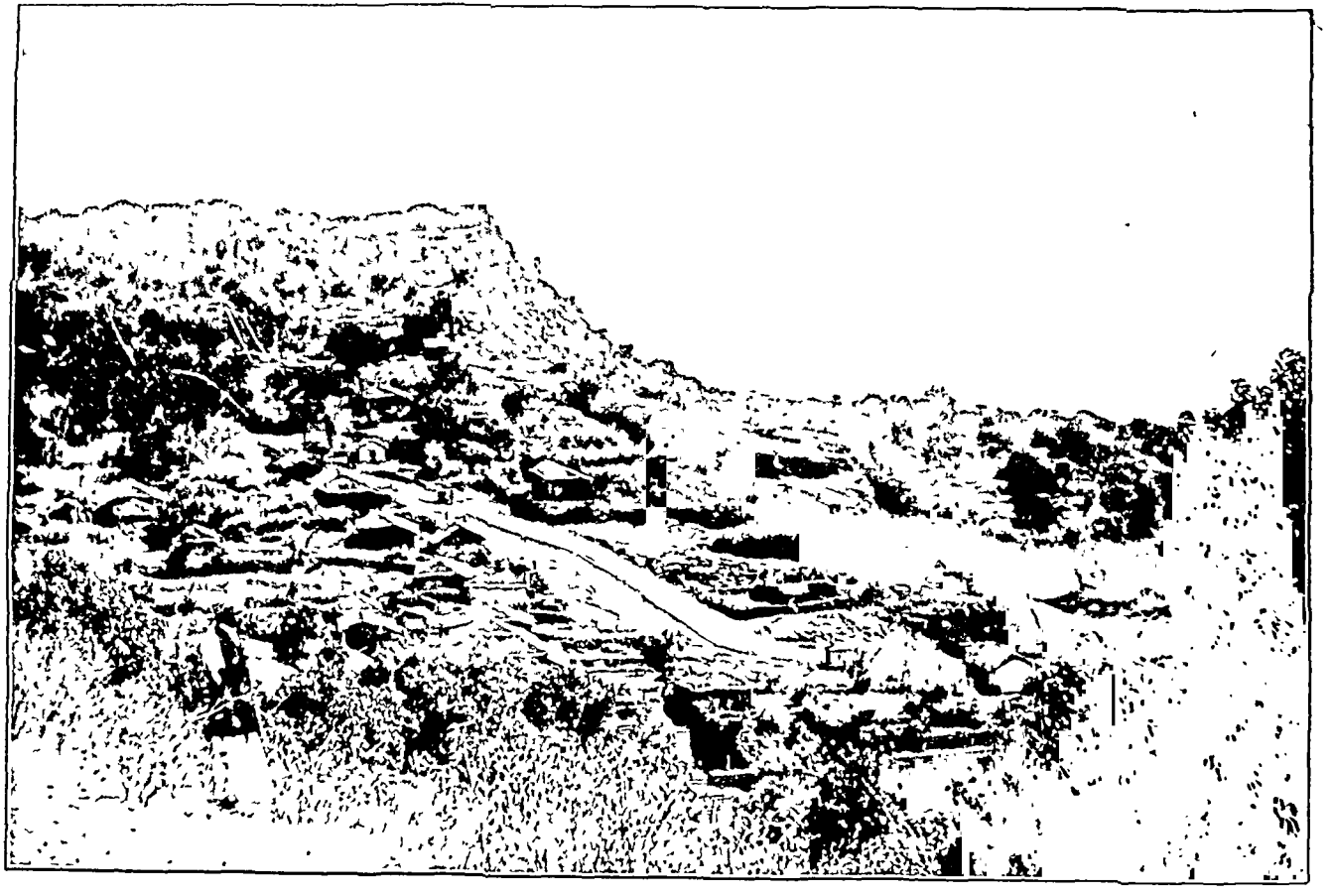
willing, be exalted with the gift of a high rank and other kindly favours. Otherwise, through the power of the All-powerful, the fort will be quickly conquered, and you will see what you will see: you will be imprisoned and executed along with all your women and children and all members of your family, old and young. Written on the 17th Jamadilawal, in the 43rd year of the reign. (31st October 1699 A. D.)."



BIRD'S EYE-VEIW, PANHALA.

CHAPTER V.

An English Ambassador at Panhala in A. D. 1701

In the last siege of Panhala by the Emperor Aurangzeb in A. D. 1701 an event of peculiar interest took place. It was the visit of the English Ambassador, Sir William Norris, who had specially come there to secure certain privileges for trade on behalf of the New East India Company. It is a well-known historical fact that at this period two separate and rival Companies had come into existence in England, one, known as the "London East India Company" and the other as the "English East India Company." Sir Wiliam Norris set out on his journey from Surat to the Moghul camp on the 26th January 1701 with a retinue of 60 Europeans and 300 natives. He first proceeded to Brahmapuri where the Emperor had made his special camp. The Emperor at this time being engaged in his expedition against the Marathas, the English Envoy sought the audience of his Vazir, Gazi-uddin Khan, which was refused on

account of the excessive pomp and formality that was observed by the English gentleman. Considering this to be derogatory to his dignity, the English Ambassador then left Brahmapuri for Panhala where he arrived on the 7th April A. D. 1701.

"The Ambassador William Norris", writes the Italian traveller, Niccolao Manucci who was present in Aurangzeb's Camp, "reached the court, and a few days afterwards made a public entry, to the admiration of everybody. Never had an ambassador from Europe appeared with such a pomp and magnificence. He erected his tents in the open, within sight of the royal army, to prove thereby that he had no fear of 'Shivajis' (the Marathas). He was armed and provided with a good cannon and had a numerous retinue."

On his arrival at Panhala, Sir William Norris first paid a visit to Asad Khan, Chief Minister of Aurangzeb, and sought his help and assistance in his undertaking. According to the customs of the day, he offered valuable presents to the Minister which were readily accepted. After an interval of a few days, he arranged for an interview with the Emperor who was graciously pleased to give him

audience in state, in his magnificent camp at Panhala. The English Ambassador, fond as he was, of pomp and glory, spared no pains to make a show of his embassy. He arranged a grand procession, from his residence to the Moghul camp at Panhala on the 28th April 1701, the order of which was as follows:—

"Mr. Christor, Commander of his Excellency's artillery, on horseback.

Twelve carts, wherein were carried the twelve brass guns, for presents.

Five hackeries, with the cloth, etc., for presents.

One hundred Cohors and messures, (coolies and gentlemen) carrying the glass-ware and looking-glasses, for pressents,

Two fine Arabian horses, richly caparisoned, for presents.

Two ditto, without caparisons, for presents.

Four English soldiers, on horseback, guarding the presents.

The Union Flag.

The red, white, and blue flags.

Seven State horses, richly caparisoned, two with English furniture, and five with Indian.

The King's and his Excellency's crests.

One State palanquin, with English furniture, of silver tissue, brocaded.
Two other crests.
The Music, with rich liveries, on horseback.
Mr. Basset, Lieutenant of his Excellency's foot guards, on horseback.
Ten servants, in rich liveries, on horseback.
The King's and my Lord's Arms.
One Kettle-Drum, in livery, on horseback.
Three Trumpets, in liveries, on horseback.
Captain Symons, Commander of his Excellency's guard.
Twelve Troopers, every way armed and accoutred after the English mode.
Mr. Beverly, Lieutenant of his Excellency's horse guards.
The King's and my Lord's Arms, richly gilt, and very large, the first being borne by sixteen men.
Mr. John Mill and Mr. Whitaker, on horseback, in rich laced coats.
Mr. Hall, Master of the Horse, richly drest, carrying the Sword of State, pointed up.
His Excellency, in a rich palanquin Indian embroidered furniture.

Four pages, two on each side of his Excellency's palanquin, richly drest.

Edward Norris, Esq., Secretary to the Embassy, in a rich palanquin, carrying His Majesty's litter to the Emperor; on each side, Mr. Wingate and Mr. Shettleworth, in rich laced coats, on horseback.

Mr. Harlewyn, Treasurer, wearing a gold key and Mr. Adiel Mill, Secretary to His Excellency in a coach."

The English Embassy of Sir William Norris to Panhala throws much light on the etiquette of the Moghul court.

The Ambassador who was cordially received by the Emperor, requested that *firmans* might be granted to each of the Presidencies of Surat, Masulipatam and Hughly with an exemption from the bonds given by the London Company for the security of the seas. The Emperor's orders were issued for these grants, and in return for these favours, the Ambassador paid another visit to the Moghul Emperor and presented him with 200 gold Mohurs. He remained in the camp at Panhala till the 5th November 1701, and tried to get his object fulfilled. In the beginning it appeared to be hopeful, but was frustrated in the end, by some un-

fortunate circumstances. In the meanwhile, the Moghul Governor of Surat, probably at the instigation of the agents of the rival Company, informed the Moghul Emperor, that the London Company had neither paid their debts, nor made up the losses sustained by the Moghul subjects from the pirates. This report prejudiced the Moghul Emperor, and he immediately issued orders to seize the property of the London Company and prohibit their trade in every part of his dominions, and hold the New English Company responsible for them. Sir William practised every intrigue and made large presents of money but was completely out-intrigued by the Moghul Emperor and his courtiers. After a long delay he was finally informed by the Emperor, that "the English best know if it were their interest to trade in his dominions, and if the Ambassador persisted in refusing the obligation required, he knew the same road back to England by which he had come". The obligation which Aurangzeb required the East India Company to undertake was that the Company should make good all losses which the Moghul subjects might sustain from pirates.

The English Ambassador at last, disgusted with the vexatious delay and

the treatment of the Moghul court, left Panhala on the 5th November 1701. "The Ambassador", observes the Italian traveller, "made a great show, and his expenses were extraordinary. No prince has ever been attended with greater pomp and ostentation, and in addition thereto his liberality was unbounded. He imagined that in this way, he could push through his business more quickly. But he was quite ignorant of what the King's intentions were in regard to him. For, after all, the only thing (he gained) was the nickname 'King of England' given him by the common people of the army."

It may be noted here that the Embassy of Sir William Norris to Panhala cost the English East India Company 80,000 sterling, a very enormous sum at that period. Having thus achieved little success Sir William Norris proceeded from Panhala to Surat and remaining there for a few months finally sailed on board the '*Scipio*' for England on the 5th May A. D. 1702. He however died near Mauritius on the 10th October A. D. 1702. His embassy is an interesting incident in the siege of Panhala.

CHAPTER VI.

Panhala under the Rajas of Kolhapur.

The year 1700 is remarkable as it inaugurated a new epoch in the history of the Marathas. The untimely death of Rajaram removed a noble and amiable king who had saved the empire from the great calamity that had ever befallen Maharashtra. He left two sons: Shivaji by Tarabai, and Sambhaji by Rajasbai, of whom the former was installed with great pomp at Panhala as the King of the Maratha Empire. As Shivaji was a minor, the administration was taken over by Tarabai, the famous Queen in Maratha History. With great tact she won over Ramchandra Pant, the consummate statesman, to her side, and carried on the administration from Panhala under his guidance. While Tarabai and her ministers were occupied in establishing peace and order in the country, another event of greater consequence took place in 1707. The Emperor Aurangzeb died at Ahmadnagar on the 3rd March in his 89th year, and was succeeded by his second son Azimshah. As a matter of policy, the

TIN DARWAJA, PANHALA.

new Emperor first released Raja Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, who like Herod Agrippa had been brought up in a foreign court. Tarabai would not acknowledge Shahu as the real son of Sambhaji and declaring him to be an imposter, strongly opposed his right to the throne of the great Shivaji. This naturally created a split amongst the Maratha leaders and led to a civil war.

Shahu who was fortunate in gaining the public sympathy on his side, and winning one after another, the great leaders as well as the strong forts of Maharashtra, crowned himself at Satara in January 1708. He first directed his attention to Tarabai and invested Panhala; and in spite of its strength, forced the commandant to surrender. Tarabai, not disheartened by the loss of Panhala, with the help of Khem Savant of Savantwadi marched against it and forced the commandant to re-surrender it. Having thus regained Panhala, she proclaimed her son Shivaji to be a sovereign Prince and made in 1710 Kolhapur an independent Principality. Such is in brief the story of the foundation of the Kolhapur State—a State which was brought into existence at Panhala by a remarkable

woman, the daughter-in-law of the great Shivaji.

Shivaji, the first ruler of this new State, however, died in 1712, leaving all the hopes and ambitions of his mother, Tarabai, frustrated. As he had no son, his younger step-brother Sambhaji, son of Rajasbai, was placed on the throne at Panhala, and the administration came into the hands of Ramchandra Pant Amatya, Sarje Rao Ghatge of Kagal, and Madhavrao, the eldest son of Parasram Trimbak. The first step taken by the ministers was to imprison Tarabai and her daugter-in-law, Bhavanibai, and confine them in a stone building at Panhala. What a curious irony of fate! The same lady who had once powerfully ruled at Panhala should have had the misfortune to be incarcerated in that very place!* Sambhaji ruled over Kolhapur for a long period and his reign was eventful for various reasons. He is regarded as the first real king of Kolhapur,

* It may be noted here that Shivaji had no son but his wife Bhavanibai who was pregnant at the time of his death gave birth to a son at Panhala. This child was artfully concealed by Tarabai for many years at Pangaon near Barsi in Sholapur District and the fact was disclosed to Raja Shahu before his death. This boy succeeded Raja Shahu at Satara in 1749, and is known in Maratha history as Ram Raja. Tarabai was kept at Panhala for many years, and in 1729 she was taken to Satara where she remained till her death in 1762.

and is known in history as Raja Sambhu Chhatrapati.

Owing to the struggle for supremacy with Raja Shahu, the first fifteen years of Sambhaji's reign were spent in incessant warfare. In 1727 the matters at last came to such a crisis that Raja Shahu had to lead a campaign against Panhala, and the Prince Sambhaji was so utterly defeated that he was obliged to give up his claim to the Maratha Empire, and to accept the Principality of Kolhapur as a distinct and independent sovereignty comprising the tract of country between the Warna and the Krishna. The real diplomatic object of the treaty was to stop Sambhaji from interfering in the affairs of the Maratha Empire; but outwardly, it was manifested that the treaty was concluded to cement the good relations of both the Royal Houses of Satara and Kolhapur. After some preliminary negotiations Raja Shahu sent his minister Shripatrao Pratinidhi to Panhala to escort Sambhaji to Satara. Pratinidhi encamped his amry below Panhala and paid a visit to Sambhaji with great ceremony. Sambhaji accepted the kind invitation and accompanied by Pratinidhi came to Karad where on the banks of the Krishna, near

Jakhanwadi, the two cousins cordially met each other with greatest splendour and enthusiasm. Having enjoyed the cordial hospitality of Raja Shahu and settled the terms of the treaty, Sambhaji was conducted back to Panhala by Fattesing Bhosle. "Shahu himself", Mr. Kincaid describes, "accompanied Sambhaji for 8 miles all of which were ablaze with the jewels and silks of the nobles in the train of the two monarchs. Even the splendours of the French nobles when Henry met Francis on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, would have paled before the magnificence of Sambhaji's reception by Shahu. Nevertheless behind all the courtesy and munificence were the clauses of the treaty and they did not err on the side of undue leniency."

The treaty between Sambhaji and Shahu was finally concluded in 1731 separating the two Principalities. Its real object however was to secure peace and tranquility in the country which was never gained. This alliance left no scope for the martial spirit of the Kolhapur people which naturally found its outlet in piracy and warfare. "Even under such conditions" observes Major Graham "the Principality of Kolhapur successfully and rapidly pro-

gressed through the various phases of feudalism, despotism and anarchy under Sambhaji's rule at Panhala; his government was modelled on the system introduced by the great Shivaji, and Kolhapur gradually assumed a respectable solidity. The secluded locality of the Principality was highly favourable to its national integrity. The mass of people entertained an enthusiastic veneration for the reigning dynasty and all the details of government were most efficiently conducted." Raja Sambhaji died in 1760 without issue. His name has been commemorated by dedicating a temple to his sacred memory at Panhala.

It may be mentioned here that Raja Shahu of Satara died in 1749 and Ram Raja, the concealed son of Shivaji of Kolhapur, was installed on the Satara throne in 1750; but the real authority of government was virtually vested in the Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao. On the death of Sambhaji, according to his wishes, a boy from the Khanwat Bhosle family was selected to succeed him, and in October 1762 the ceremony of adoption was performed at Panhala with unusual magnificence. He was placed on the *gadi* amidst general rejoicings under the name

Shivaji II of Kolhapur. Owing to his minority, his mothor Rani Jijabai conducted the administration for 12 years. Under her rule great irregularities occurred and free scope was allowed for plunder both by sea and land, and the Peshwa, Madhav Rao I, had to send large armies under Patwardhans to protect his frontiers. In spite of the continuous feuds and incessant troubles, it is significant that "the sovereign lady was allowed to remain unmolested in the indulgence of all the pomp and ceremonies of a court at Panhala". Rani Jijabai concluded treaties of peace and friendship with the Peshwa as well as the British. She died at Panhala in 1772. She was a woman of talent and decision, but her fame has unfortunately been tarnished on account of her having encouraged human sacrifices before the Goddess at Panhala. It was an age of superstition and she fell a prey to it!

When Jijabai died, her adopted son Shivaji was still a minor, and the administration was solely in the hands of Yeshwantrao Shinde, who was more fond of war than peace; and in his time Kolhapur was engaged in aggressive warfare with Patwardhans and the neighbouring States.

After his death in 1782, Ratnakar Pant was appointed minister. He was a man of talent and courage and proved himself a benefector of the State. His first act was to persuade his master Raja Shivaji to leave Panhala and to take active interest in the administration and the army. Till then the young Prince had remained in seclusion at Panhala under the influence and spiritual guidance of Shri Sidheshwar Maharaj, whose descendants are still in the enjoyment of a *jahagir* at Kolhapur. In persuance of his minister's advice, Shivaji left Panhala and came to reside at Kolhapur in 1782, since then Kolhapur became the chief capital of the State.

The long reign of Shivaji is known only for incessant hostility, continued suspense between the prospects of ruin and conquest, and fierce struggle for independence. Ratnakar Pant Rajadnya, Priti Rao Chavan and several other notable persons flourished at this time, and won several battles, but the country disturbed by internal and external enemies knew little peace and prosperity. The important events during this period were the fatal fight with Parashram Bhau Patwardhan in which he was killed at

Patankudi in 1799, and the subsequent invasion against Kolhapur by his son, Ramchandra Pant, with the assistance of the Peshwa's and Scindia's forces, the latter consisting of five battalions under Major Browning. Raja Shivaji with his royal household took shelter in the impregnable fort of Panhala with all his forces encamped below it. The enemy made a desperate attack and defeating the Kolhapur army drove the Raja into the fort. In this fierce battle the Raja lost a large number of his Sardars and men, prominent amongst whom were Dawlatrao and Vishwasrao Gaikwad. The enemy then besieged Kolhapur and resolved to take it by bombardment. The guns playing incessantly day and night, succeeded in making a breach in the city wall. Kolhapur was on the point of surrendering, but the timely intervention of Sarjerao Ghatge of Kagal changed the whole situation like a dramatic scene, and Kolhapur was saved. The Scindia's army changed sides, and joining the Kolhapur forces utterly defeated the enemy. In this fight several European officers were killed. Their graves are still seen near the ruins of the old town wall. For these valuable services the *jahagir* of Kagal was bestowed

upon Sarjerao Ghatge whose descendant Sir Pirajirao Bapusaheb Ghatge, K. C. B. E., C. S. I., C. I. E., is now enjoying it.

After a long reign of 53 years, Shivaji died at Kolhapur on the 24th April 1812. He left two sons: Shambhu and Shahaji, generally known as Abasaheb and Bawasaheb, of whom the elder Abasaheb succeeded to the Gadi. He being of a mild and gentle disposition loved peace. He introduced peaceful measures into the administration, and tried to restore tranquility in his State. He concluded a treaty of friendship with the British Government and adjusted the differences between Kolhapur and Patwardhans. He remained neutral during the last Maratha War in 1818, in appreciation of which he received back from the British Government the Talukas of Chikodi and Manoli, bringing a revenue of Rs. 3,00,000 per annum. Had he lived long, he would have earned greater fame in history. Unfortunately he met with a violent death at the hands of Sayaji Baji Mohite of Karad on the 2nd July 1821, in his own Palace at Kolhapur. Sayaji and his brothers were afterwards arrested and trampled to death by elephants at Panhala.

Abasaheb left an infant son but he did not survive long. Consequently his

brother, Shahaji *alias* Bawa Saheb, succeeded to the throne, and was recognised in the open Durbar by Sir Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, the then Governor of Bombay, who had specially attended the installation at Kolhapur. According to the description of Mr. Chaplin "the new Raja, though not wholly destitute of occasional shrewdness" turned out to be "a youth of vindictive disposition, violent in temper, and addicted to most vicious pleasures." His conduct being far from satisfactory the peace of the country was again disturbed. He increased his army and commenced hostilities with his own feudatories. The British Government had therefore to send a large force to Kolhapur which compelled the Raja to conclude a treaty of peace, by which he agreed to observe the conditions of the former treaty, and to cede the districts of Chikodi and Manoli to the British Government, and to keep the British garrison at Kolhapur and Panhala at his expense. Accordingly, a British Garrison was stationed at Panhala for two years; but in 1829, when Sir John Malcolm, the then Governor of Bombay, visited Kolhapur and saw the satisfactory state of administration, he recommended to Government that the fort

of Panhala might be handed over to the Raja and the Kolhapur Regiment be removed. The following remarks of the great Governor are well worth a perusal:—"The part of the Kolhapur country through which I passed is well cultivated, notwithstanding the injuries to which it has been exposed from the incompetence and quarrels of its late rulers. The ryats appear satisfied, and I was surprised to find that the acknowledged excesses and weakness of charactor of the present ruler, had in no degree deprived him of the regard and attachment of his subjects. He is on the contrary popular amongst the lower classes, and the inhabitants of the villages are, I was assured by those who mixed with them, still vain of their allegiance to a descendant of Sevajee."

While on a pilgrimage to Tuljapur, the family Goddess of the Bhosle family, Bawasaheb died on the 29th November 1837, at Yeoti, a village near Pandharpur. He left two legitimate sons, Shivaji and Chimaji, of whom the elder was placed on the throne; but he being a minor, a regency was formed consisting of his mother, his aunt (Dewan Saheb) and four Karbharis. But their administration did not prove successful. The British autho-

rities deputed a respectable and experienced officer, Daji Krishna Pandit, to improve the state of things, but matters went from bad to worse and the latent sparks of disaffection burst into a flame, and in 1844, a revolt was raised by the *Gadkaris* (Garrison) of the forts, to whom the *Sibandis* or local militia joined. The leader of the insurrection was one, Babaji Ahirekar, who imprisoned the Minister. The matter having assumed a serious aspect the British Government had to send detachments under the command of General Delamotte. Mr. Reeves was appointed Commissioner and Cols. Outram and Ovans (Resident of Satara) were sent to join the campaign. The ringleader Babaji seized Col. Ovans and confined him in the Fort of Panhala which again became a scene of fierce fighting. Col. Outram stormed and captured the fort, and was amongst the foremost to enter it on the 9th August 1844. The fugitives including the ringleader, Babaji, attempted to enter into the neighbouring fort of Pawangad, but they were closely followed by the British troops and were utterly routed. Their leader was killed and Col. Ovans was released to the great joy of the victors. In this fight Panhala heavily

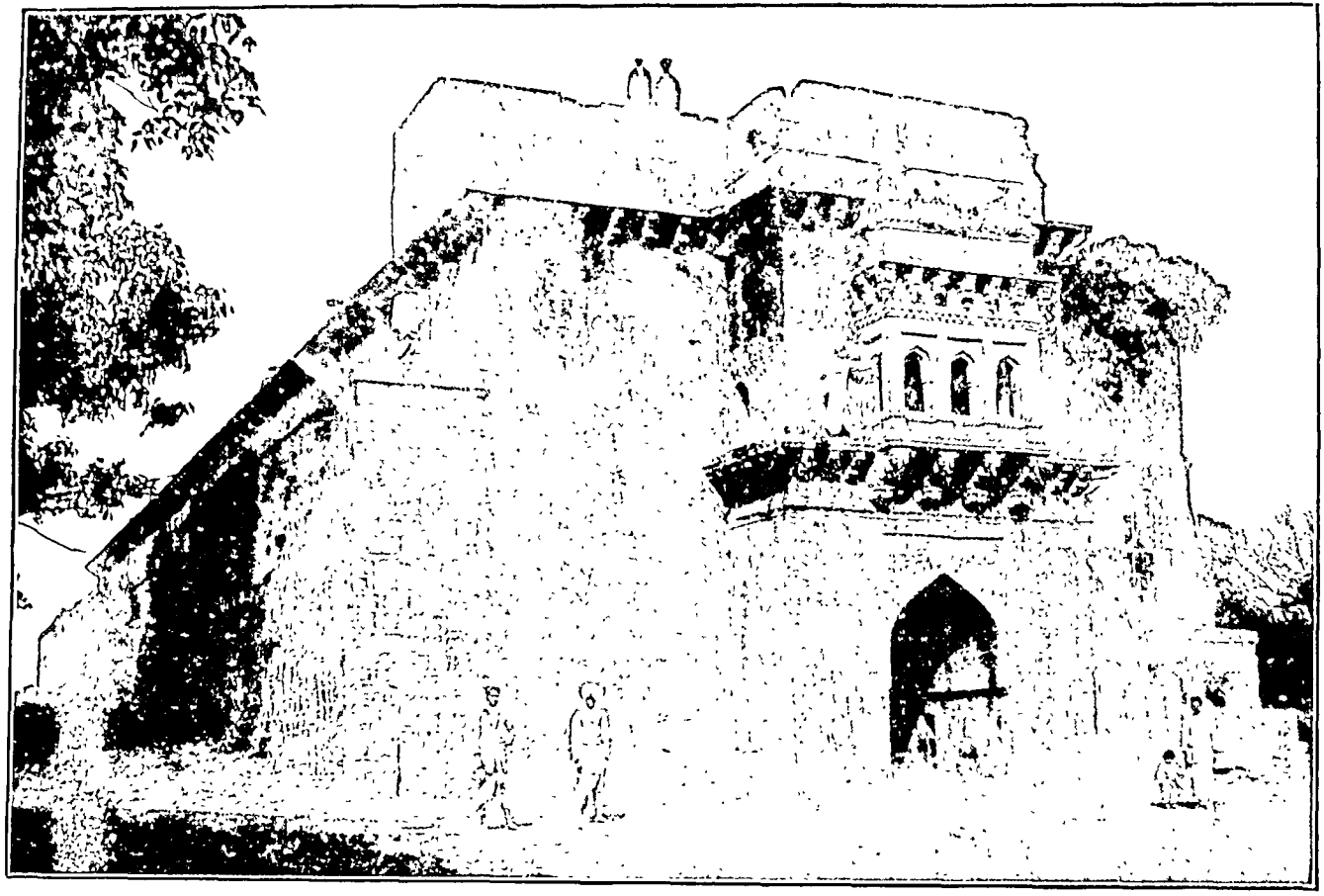
suffered from the cannonade of the British Artillery.

After the fall of Panhala and other forts, steps were taken to restore tranquility and order in the country. The young Raja was brought back to Kolhapur and reinstated on the throne, and a Superintendent, Captain (afterwards Major) Graham was appointed to conduct the administration. Since then, Kolhapur has been enjoying peace and prosperity. Raja Shiwaji *alias* Bawasaheb turned out to be a good ruler and remained staunch and loyal to the British Government in the times of the Mutiny of 1857. He was honoured with the distinction of G. C. I. E. and was given a *Sanad* for adoption by Lord Canning.

He died childless in August 1866. He was succeeded by his adopted son, Rajaram Maharaj, a most promising, enlightened and intelligent Prince, who was the first amongst Indian Rulers to visit England. His visit created a good deal of interest in that country, but unfortunately his life was cut short by the cruel hands of death in Florence, on the 30th November 1870, and the whole State was plunged into grief. After this sad event Raja Shivaji was adopted as the

heir to the Kolhapur *Gadi*, but he too died an early death on the 25th December 1883 at Ahmednagar, before he was invested with powers.

Shivaji was succeeded in A. D. 1883, by H. H. the late lamented Maharaja, Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaj. During his minority, the administration was conducted by a regency presided over by Jeysing Rao Abasaheb, Chief of Kagal, natural father of His Highness, of whom Lord Reay, the then Governor of Bombay once said: "I do not think a more enlightened administrator or a better man has ever held the reins of power in any State." The training received under such an experienced and eminent administrator bore excellent result, and the Maharaja turned out to be one of the greatest statesmen of the modern times as will be seen from his remarkable career of 28 years. His untimely death on the 6th May 1922 has removed a wonderful personality, a benevolent and efficient ruler, and a staunch supporter of the Backward Classes. He is succeeded by his only son, H. H. Chhatrapati Rajaram Maharaja, who will, it is hoped, maintain the high traditions of the illustrious House of the Great Shivaji.



AMBAR KHANA, PANHALA.

CHAPTER VII.

Places of Interest at Panhala.

The Fort of Panhala is divided into two portions, the *Bale Killa* or the upper fort, and the lower fort or suburbs. The *Bale Killa,* also called Citadel is almost in ruins except a few old buildings. The fort contains old buildings converted into modern houses and lodgings of which the Maharaja's Palace is somewhat striking, but it has also undergone so many changes as can hardly be called an ancient building. In the centre of the upper fort was situated the ancient palace of which nothing now remains except foundations and plinths. The original fort of the Raja Bhoj was repaired and fortified by the Bijapur kings and the remains of the old fortifications and gateways are the only objects of interest to visitors. Of the three gateways the *Char Darwaja* or the quadruple gate possessed a stately and majestic appearance. It was blown up after the storming of Panhala by General Delamotte in 1844. Luckily a sketch of this famous gate was drawn by Mr. Herald for the General, which preserves its likeness.

The second important gate, next to the *Char Darwaja,* is the *Tin Darwaja* which was first built by the Bahmani kings and afterwards repaired by Ibrahim Adil Shah. The inscription on this gate shows that Abu Aka Dawood built a bastion outside the *Tin Darwaja* and that he was the Governor of Panhala in A. H. 934. This gate is in tact and the inscription thereon runs:—

"In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. This sentence is the key of the gate of the treasury of the Ruler (God). The rebuilding anew of the fortress of the seat of Government of Panhala, took place in the days of the rule of my Emperor, the protector of the world, in the kingdom of Panhala, Ibrahim Adil Shah. May God preserve his kingdom. In the date of the year A. H. 954. In the administration of Malik Daud Aka who was Deputy Governor during the absence of the Emperor. Inscribed by Salar, son of Ahmad the Minister."

The third gate was known by the name of *Wagh Darwaja* or the Tiger Gate. But it is utterly in a ruined condition and its pillars have fallen to the ground. Only the massive stones on the arch give a faint idea of the strength and size of the gate. There is no inscription available about this gate.

AMBARKHANA or the granaries. These are the store-rooms built for the purpose of storing grain and provisions for the

army, and are situated in the central fort. The building is surrounded by huge fortified walls, ruins of which can still be seen. It contains the three enormous stone and cement granaries, named Ganga, Jamna, and Saraswati, probably by the Marathas in later period. They are built with arched roofs and are capable of holding provisions for a large army. Of these three, the Ganga is the largest massive building with two entrances, on either side a staircase leading to a terrace where small holes are kept for passing large quantities of grain. The building is 10,200 feet square and 35 feet high. Of the two other granaries one is 152 ft. long, 40 ft. broad and 18 ft. high, and the other 85 ft. long, 35 ft. broad and 30 ft. high. These granaries could store 25,000 *khandies* of grain. Besides these, there is another granary called 'Dharma Kothi' situated to the west. It is opposite to the present Dispensary. It is a stone building 55 ft. by 48 ft., and 35 ft high, having an entrance and a staircase leading to the terrace. This Kothi, as its name indicates, seems to have been used for storing grain for being distributed in charity to the poor. These granaries give an idea how the

grain was stored in forts for military purposes in olden times.

SAJJA KOTHI—This is one of the most interesting and historical buildings in the old fort. 'Sajja', Persian 'Sajhah', means a terrace, and 'Kothi' means a building; hence it is called Sajja Kothi. As it stands on the brink of a precipice, it prominently occupies the highest peak on the hill and commands a most beautiful view. It is said that the domes of the mosques at Miraj which are at a distance of 40 miles, can be seen from this peak. From the stone inscription still preserved in the building it seems that this edifice was built in Suhur San 1008 by Maksud Aka, in the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah, king of Bijapore. The inscription is in Persian and contains the following interesting lines:–

"In the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah of handsome face a heart-delighting palace was built on the summit of the terrace of the fortress. In breadth one *Nauras* by two *Naurases* in height. Maksud Aka built this charming dwelling. In Suhr San 1008 in the month of Rajab this excellent mansion was constructed, O Lord! King of Heaven. May this pure palace last for ever."

This ancient building is still in tact. It is noted for its historical associations. The great Shivaji is said to have skilfully escaped from this place to Vishalgad

KALAVANTIN'S SAJJA OR COURTESAN'S GALLERY.

and the window is still known as "Shiwaji's window." This place was selected as a residence by Major Graham, the first Political Superintendent of Kolhapur and hence it was known as "Graham's Bungalow". Since the establishment of the Political Agency in Kolhapur in 1865, this charming place has become a summer residence of the Political Agents and Residents of Kolhapur. It is two storeyed, 36 ft. × 31 ft. in breadth and length, and 41 ft. high, with one entrance and a staircase leading to the upper storey. It is so situated that, in bygone days, the inmates of the building could witness the dancing and music performances in the Kalavantin's or Courtesan's Gallery.

KALAVANTIN'S OR COURTESAN'S GALLERY:—On the eastern side of the Fort, close to the rampart, stands this building which was formerly a favourite residence of the harem or ladies of the Bijapur officers. The building is now in complete ruins except some parts of ceiling which contain fine ornamental works. It is 60 ft. × 30 ft. and 58 high.

SADHOBA'S DARGAH:—Of all the Mahommedan buildings in the Fort, the most important is the holy shrine of Sadhoba. Sadhoba is a Marathi word meaning a

Sadhu or saint, and one apparently thinks that illiterate persons might have given that name to this Dargah, but the real name of the Mahommedan saint in whose honour this shrine was erected was Pir Sad-ud-din, and evidently it is called Sadoba or Sadhoba after his name by the public. This holy place is surrounded by a stone and mud wall and is 29 ft. square and including the dome 50 ft. high. Every year a fair or *uras* is held here. In front of this shrine is a beautiful small tank which is named 'Sadhoba's Tank' after the saint. There is a stone inscription on one side of the tank which contains the following lines:—

"In the name of God, the great artificer and dispensor of justice, who bringeth forth sweet water from the rock. In the reign of the King of Kings with (all) glory. The victorious Ibrahim the chosen King. As to the construction which you see of this excellent reservoir, it was built by Malik Khidre, chief Khawas. It was in the date A. H. 964, that this spring became a memorial of Khidr. Oh God, preserve this for ever, for the sake of the Prophet and Ali: upon them be peace."

From this it is evident that it was built in A. H. 969 by Malik Khider, chief Khavas, in the reign of Ibrahim Adil-shah. There are many other inscriptions in the compound of the shrine mostly collected from the ruined gates of the fort.

SAMBHAJI'S TEMPLE :—This is dedicated to Sambhaji I of Kolhapur, who ruled from A. D. 1712 to A. D. 1760. It stands close to the present Mamlatdar's office. It is 90 × 46 ft. including the spire which is 55 ft. high. It is surrounded by an arch-roofed building. The name Sambhaji, popularly called Shambhu Chhatrapati Maharaj, is held in great reverence and a worship is daily performed in his honour.

Opposite this temple there is another small temple dedicated to Ranee Jijabai Saheb, wife of Sambhaji. The name of this lady is associated with the human sacrifices performed in this fort, in order to appease the Goddess Mahakali whose temple is within a few hundred yards of the Queen's Palace, close to the tower which is called Kali's Tower or Black Tower. According to Major Graham's information "the temple was situated in the inner fort where the walls of two towers close together, and where every ray of sunshine is intercepted by the dense foliage of the overhanging trees. Dark, dismal and lonely, the spot appears suitable for the vile purpose for which it was used and to this day the Black Tower of Panhala enjoys a most unenviable notoriety."

Besdies these interesting places there are many other old ruins too numerous to be mentioned. The visitor to Panhala generally does not miss the opportunity of visiting Pawangad which is only half a mile east of Panhala. This fort has shared all the vicissitudes of Panhala and stands at present as if mourning the loss of its former glory and importance. Douglas truly says:—"The decay of Maratha power is written on the gates of these forts".

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